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NATO CONFIDENTIAL FROM WASH

POLITICAL ANALYSIS: "PRAVDA" CRITICIZES REFORMIST SOVIET
PHILOSOPHERS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AN UNSIGNED ARTICLE IN PRAVDA
(SEPTEMBER 19) ATTEMPTS TO IMPEDE, IF NOT DISCREDIT, THE
ACADEMIC MOVEMENT TOWARD RELIEVING SOVIET PHILOSOPHY OF
THE SCHOLASTIC DEADWEIGHT THAT IT ACQUIRED IN THE STALIN
ERA. THE ARTICLE REVEALS THAT AT LEAST ONE FOE OF THE
INSULARITY OF SOVIET PHILOSOPHY AND A PROMOTER OF EAST WEST
DIALOGUE HAS DRAWN UPON HIMSELF THE WRATH OF PARTY
OFFICIALDOM.

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2; A SHAKEUP AMONG SOVIET IDEOLOGISTS IS SUGGESTED BY THE
PRAVDA ARTICLE AND THE UNEXPECTED ABSENCE OF A SOVIET
DELEGATION FROM A SEPTEMBER 23-29 MEETING AT WISLA, POLAND,

OF WARSAW PACT IDEOLOGISTS AND PHILOSOPHERS CALLED TO EVALUATE POST-CSCE DEVELOPMENTS. APPEARANCE OF THE PRAVDA ATTACK ON REFORMIST SCHOLARS SO SOON AFTER BREZHNEV'S MEETING WITH THE MILITANT PARTY IDEOLOGUE ZARODOV (SEPTEMBER 17) FURTHER SUGGESTS THE STRENGTHENING OF AN IDEOLOGICALLY ORTHODOX MOOD AMONG KREMLIN LEADERS. END SUMMARY.

3. FROM INTOLERANCE TOWARD OPENNESS: PHILOSOPHY HAS LONG BEEN THE MOST SENSITIVE OF INTELLECTUAL DISCIPLINES IN THE USSR. ROOTED IN DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM AS INTERPRETED BY LENIN, SOVIET PHILOSOPHY IN THE 1920S HAD A VITALITY AND FLEXIBILITY THAT PERMITTED GENUINE DEBATE. BUT UNDER STALIN IT BECAME A DOGMATIC STRUCTURE IN ISOLATION FROM PRACTICE AND WAS TEMPERED BY THE POSTWAR CHAUVINISM USUALLY IDENTIFIED WITH A. A. ZHDANOV.

4 KHRUSHCHEV'S DE-STALINIZATION CAMPAIGNS EXPOSED THE STERILE LEGACY OF SOVIET PHILOSOPHERS AND THE FACTION AMONG THEM STILL HOSTILE TO SCHOLARLY OBJECTIVITY. THE POST-STALIN SHIFT AWAY FROM A DOGMATIC STYLE OF PHILOSOPHIZING WAS MARKED BY SUCH TRENDS AS

(A)--INCREASED AVAILABILITY OF WORKS BY NON-MARXIST PHILOSOPHERS AND OF INFORMATION CONCERNING PHILOSOPHICAL ALTERNATIVES TO MARXISM;

(B)--EMERGENCE OF A PROFESSIONAL SPIRIT WHICH VALUED ANALYSIS OVER THE ABUSE WHICH HAD DOMINATED THE TREATMENT OF OPPOSING VIEWS;

(C)--LEGITIMIZATION OF INVESTIGATION IN SUCH AREAS AS FORMAL LOGIC AND CYBERNETICS, WHICH PREVIOUSLY WERE REJECTED AS VALUELESS AND INCONSISTENT WITH DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM;

(D)--MORE ATTENTION TO PARTICULAR PROBLEMS WHICH ARISE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM, PAR-
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TICULARLY PROBLEMS IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE

DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM THUS CONTINUED TO RULE SOVIET THOUGHT, BUT A SERIES OF SMALL STEPS WERE TAKEN IN THE DIRECTION OF MORE OPENNESS TO DISCUSSION AND PRACTICALITY,

5. A VOICE FOR CHANGE: ONE OF THE MEN RESPONSIBLE FOR CLOSING SOMEWHAT THE VAST GAP BETWEEN SOVIET PHILOSOPHERS AND THEIR WESTERN COUNTERPARTS HAS BEEN THE 70-YEAR-OLD BONIFATIY M. KEDROV. KEDROV'S CAREER HAS BEEN CHECKERED. IN AUGUST 1947 HE SPEARHEADED ZHDANOV'S ATTACK ON THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY, THE PRINCIPAL

EDITOR OF WHICH WAS G. F. ALEKSANDROV, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE CC CPSU(B) PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION ADMINISTRATION. THE ASSAULT ON THE HISTORY FOR OVERESTIMATING THE VALUE OF HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHICAL WORK WAS GENERALLY REGARDED AS A MOVE TO DISCREDIT FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN SOVIET CULTURE.

6. NEVERTHELESS, KEDROV EVEN IN THE STALIN PERIOD SHUNNED THE STARKLY ISOLATIONIST VIEWPOINT. AS CHIEF EDITOR OF QUESTIONS OF PHILOSOPHY HE PUBLISHED IN 1948 A NUMBER OF ARTICLES ON CONTROVERSIAL SUBJECTS AND A YEAR LATER WAS TAXED WITH THE HERESY OF "COSMOPOLITANISM." REMOVED FROM HIS POST AND FORCED TO RECENT, KEDROV WAS RESTORED TO FAVOR ONLY AFTER THE DEATH OF STALIN. IN 1955 HE AGAIN CRITICIZED ALEKSANDROV, BUT THIS TIME FOR DOWNPLAYING THE DIALECTICAL LAW OF INEVITABLE SOCIAL CHANGE AND FAILING TO SHOW THAT MARXISM HAD ANY ROOTS IN OLDER PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT (KOMMUNIST, NO 14, 1955)

7. KEDROV IN 1962 URGED CLEAR-CUT EXXPOSURE OF THE STALINIST FIAT IN PHILOSOPHY. IN 1963 HE ARGUED AGAINST THE ECCENTRIC BIOLOGICAL THEORY FAVORED BY THE BOTANIST T; D. LYSENKO. HE DREW THE IRE OF THE REACTIONARY LITERARY MAGAZINE OKTYABR IN 1965 FOR AN ANTI-LYSENKO ARTICLE PUBLISHED EARLIER THAT YEAR IN OKTYABR'S LIBERALIZING RIVAL, NOVYY MIR.

8. AFTER BEING NAMED DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE OF THE HISTORY OF NATURAL SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY OF THE SOVIET CONFIDENTIAL

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ACADEMY IN 1971, KEDROV TOOK AN ACTIVE INTEREST IN EMPIRICAL SOCIOLOGY AIMED AT STIMULATING PROGRESS IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND IN THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE AS A VEHICLE FOR UNDERLINING THE DANGER OF NATIONAL EXCLUSIVENESS. (SEE ARTICLE CO-AUTHORED IN KOMMUNIST, NO. 4, 1971, AND ARTICLE IN PRAVDA, AUGUST 18, 1971, WRITTEN AS CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ORGANIZING UNESCO'S 13TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE). SINCE BECOMING DIRECTOR OF THE ACADEMY'S INSTITUTE OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE SPRING OF 1973, KEDROV HAS URGED THE DISCUSSION OF PROBLEMS RELATED TO DETENTE AND CURTAILMENT OF THE ARMS RACE. (SEE PRAVDA ARTICLE OF AUGUST 26, 1974, CO-AUTHORED AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SOVIET COMMITTEE TO ORGANIZE THE 10TH INTERNATIONAL HEGELIAN CONGRESS). ON THE OTHER HAND, IN AUGUST 1973, KEDROV JOINED A HANDFUL OF OTHER ACADEMICIANS WHO SIGNED A LETTER FOR PRAVDA CONDEMNING THEIR COLLEAGUE ANDREY SAKHAROV FOR MAKING STATEMENTS WHICH TENDED TO REFLECT BADLY ON SOVIET DETENTE POLICY.

9. A MOST RECENT EXPOSITION OF KEDROV'S VIEW WAS HIS ESSAY ON DIALECTICS PUBLISHED IN JUNE 1975 AS A BROCHURE OF

THE "ZNANIYE" LECTURE SOCIETY. IN THE SECTION "HEGEL;S DIALECTIC AND REVOLUTION. POLICY AND THE DIALECTIC," KEDROV CITED LENIN'S WORK "THE INFANTILE DISORDER OF 'LEFTISM' IN COMMUNISM" (1920) AND STATED THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO

(A)--BE MAXIMALLY FLEXIBLE IN POLITICAL THOUGHT AND REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS;

(B)--LEARN TO RETREAT, AS WELL AS ADVANCE;

(C)--INVESTIGATE ON A PRIORITY BASIS "THE NATIONAL PARTICULAR, THE NATIONAL-SPECIFIC IN THE CONCRETE APPROACHES OF EACH COUNTRY TO SOLVING THE SINGLE INTERNATIONAL TASK." (B. M. KEDROV, V. I; LENIN I GEGELEVSKAYA DIALEKTIKA (0 LENINSKIKH PRINTSIPAKH I SPOSOBAKH MATERIALISTICHESKOY PERERABOTKI DIALEKTIKI GEGELYA), MOSCOW, SIGNED TO PRESS JULY 28, 1975).

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10. A BRIGHT PICTURE OF THE SITUATION IN SOVIET PHILOSOPHY, MOREOVER, WAS PAINTED RECENTLY IN HIGH-LEVEL ARTICLES WRITTEN FOR THE ISSUE OF THE CC CPSU MAGAZINE KOMMUNIST PEGGED TO THE FORTHCOMING 250TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES (NO. 13, SIGNED TO PRESS SEPTEMBER 2, 1975).

11. ACTING ACADEMY PRESIDENT KOTELNIKOV EXULTED THAT: "MARXIST LENINIST PHILOSOPHY IS ACTIVELY DISPLAYING ITSELF IN DEVELOPING PROBLEMS OF WORLD OUTLOOK IN THE BUILDING OF COMMUNISM. GREAT WORK HAS BEEN DONE IN REGARD TO THE THEORY OF THE DIALECTIC. THE ACADEMY'S SCHOLARS HAVE PREPARED A NUMBER OF GENERALIZING WORKS ON THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH STUDIES, THE RESULTS OF WHICH ARE IMPORTANT FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL PROCESSES, ARE BEING CONDUCTED." ANOTHER UNSIGNED ARTICLE IN THE SAME ISSUE, "GREAT ROLE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE," LAUDED THE 1973 MONOGRAPH HISTORY OF THE MARXIST DIALECTIC. LENINIST PHASE AND WORKS ON HISTORICAL MATERIALISM PUBLISHED IN 1972 AND 1974, ALONG WITH THE ACTIVITIES OF SOVIET SCHOLARS IN PREPARATION FOR THE 15TH INTERNATIONAL PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS.

12. SUDDEN ATTACK: ONLY A FORTNIGHT LATER, AN UNSIGNED PRAVDA ARTICLE OF SEPTEMBER 19, 1975, "GREAT DUTY OF SOVIET PHILOSOPHERS," THE IMPORTANCE OF WHICH WAS INDICATED BY ITS RE-PUBLICATION IN THE REPUBLIC-LEVEL PRESS, FOUND MAJOR DEFECTS ON "THE PHILOSOPHICAL FRONT " IT ASSERTED

THAT THERE WAS AN ABSENCE OF PURPOSEFUL WORK IN INVESTIGATING PROBLEMS OF DIALECTICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM. NO

OUTSTANDING WORKS WERE SAID TO HAVE BEEN RECENTLY WRITTEN ON THE THEORY OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM AND THE MATERIALISTIC UNDERSTANDING OF HISTORY. BLAME FOR THIS WAS PUT ON THE INSTITUTE OF PHILOSOPHY UNDER THE USSR ACADEMY.

13 ALTHOUGH THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF PHILOSOPHY TO SOCIAL PROBLEMS WAS NOT IGNORED, THE MAIN THRUST OF PRAVDA'S DIRECTIVE ARTICLE WAS AGAINST APPLIED THINKING. DESCRIBING THE DEVELOPMENT OF DIALECTICAL THEORY AS NOTHING LESS THAN THE "CENTRAL" TASK OF SOVIET PHILOSOPHERS, THE
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ARTICLE CALLED FOR

(A)--"CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF CONCEPTIONS WHICH ABSOLUTIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CONCRETE METHOD" (IN OTHER WORDS, LESS STRESS ON EMPIRICAL STUDIES);

(B)--"CRITICISM OF ALL SORTS OF TECHNOCRATIC THEORIES AND BOURGEOIS-APOLOGETIC CONCEPTIONS OF THE SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL REVOLUTION";

(C)--WORK ON THE METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO POLITICAL ECONOMY (A JUSTIFY CATORY "SCIENCE" AT BEST);

(D)--WORKS ENABLING THE DECISIONS OF SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION TO BE BASED ON POLITICO-IDEOLOGICAL FACTORS, AMONG OTHERS, AS WELL AS ON ECONOMIC OR SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS;

(E)--AVOIDANCE OF "THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL MISTAKES" BY VIGILANCE AGAINST "SPINELESSNESS OF PRINCIPLE AND METHODOLOGY" AND AGAINST THE "EROSION OF PRINCIPLES."

14. A FEW DAYS LATER, ON SEPTEMBER 23, A PRAVDA LEAD ARTICLE ON IDEOLOGY ALLUDED TO "CERTAIN AUTHORS" WHO "IN THEIR PUBLICATIONS DISPLAY A SUPERFICIAL KNOWLEDGE OF MARXISM-LENINISM, AN INABILITY TO APPLY THE PRINCIPLES OF THE MATERIALISTIC DIALECTIC." WHILE KEDROV HAS NOT YET BEEN MENTIONED BY NAME, HE IS ONE OF THE MOST LIKELY TARGETS.

15. A PROBABLY RELATED INCIDENT OCCURRED ON SEPTEMBER 16, WHEN MOLDAVIAN PARTY BOSS I. I. BODYUL MADE A SPEECH TO LOCAL SOCIAL SCIENTISTS WHICH APPEARED TO TAKE AIM AT THOSE LIKE KEDROV WHO WANTED TO FOCUS ON THE STUDY OF NATIONAL PECULIARITIES IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT; BODYUL FLAYED

"DEMAGOGUE-POLITICIANS" WHO "DEPART FROM SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM" UNDER THE GUISE OF DEVELOPING COMMUNIST PRINCIPLES, AND HE RAPED "POLITICIANS" WHO AVERRED THAT EACH COMMUNIST PARTY MUST HAVE ITS OWN CONCEPTION OF COMMUNISM. "NARROW

NATIONAL PRAGMATISM AND SUBJECTIVISM" WERE OTHER DEVIATIONS
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THAT HE MENTIONED.

16 A RISING OF MISTRUST: IT WAS PERHAPS INEVITABLE THAT SOVIET PHILOSOPHY, LIKE ART AND LITERATURE BEFORE IT, SHOULD SUFFER A SETBACK AFTER EXPERIENCING A PERIOD OF MINOR RECOVERY FROM THE STALINIST ICE AGE THE HISTORICAL RECORD, AFTER ALL, LEAVES SMALL DOUBT THAT OPENNESS TO IDEOLOGICAL DISCUSSION IS OVER THE LONG TERM INCOMPATIBLE WITH SOVIET COMMUNISM.

17. THE REAL QUESTION RAISED BY THE PARTIAL REVIVAL OF ORTHODOXY IN PRAVDA'S ARTICLE OF SEPTEMBER 19 IS WHETHER IT SIGNIFIES A CLOUDING OF THE GENERAL POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE IN MOSCOW AND IF SO TO WHAT EXTENT.

18. ARGUING IN THAT DIRECTION IS THE FACT OF THE ARTICLE'S PUBLICATION ON THE HEELS OF BREZHNEV'S FRIENDLY MEETING ON SEPTEMBER 17 WITH K. I. ZARODOV, CHIEF EDITOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST JOURNAL PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM. ZARODOV WROTE THE CONTROVERSIAL PRAVDA ARTICLE ON AUGUST 6, WHICH CALLED UPON FOREIGN COMMUNIST PARTIES TO BE LESS ACCOMMODATING IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH LIBERAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTNERS IN POPULAR FRONTS. THE ARTICLE WAS AT ODDS WITH MODERATE ONES BEING PUBLISHED ELSEWHERE IN THE SOVIET PRESS AND PROVOKED CRITICAL REACTION FROM SEVERAL COMMUNIST PARTIES IN WESTERN EUROPE. BREZHNEV'S DECISION TO MEET WITH ZARODOV AND TO PRAISE HIS MAGAZINE IN THE GENERAL SECRETARY'S FIRST PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED APPEARANCE SINCE RETURNING FROM A CRIMEAN VACATION ON AUGUST 30 SEEMED TO INDICATE AN ENDORSEMENT OF THE AUTHOR'S MILITANT VIEWS. IN ANY EVENT, PRESS TREATMENT SIGNALLED THAT IMPORTANCE WAS TO BE ATTACHED TO THIS SYMBOLIC ACT.

19. THE COMMON THREAD WHICH RUNS THROUGH THE BREZHNEV-ZARODOV INCIDENT AND PRAVDA'S ARTICLE ON PHILOSOPHY IS SUSPICION OF NON-COMMUNIST MODES OF THOUGHT AND BEHAVIOR. SIGNIFICANTLY, THIS MISTRUSTFUL ATTITUDE HAS LATELY RADIATED FROM OTHER PROPAGANDA STATEMENTS WHICH CONTEND THAT "EVEN THE MOST SOBER, REALISTICALLY THINKING POLITICAL CIRCLES OF THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES" ARE STILL THE SOVIETS' "ADVERSARIES, BOTH IN CLASS AND PRINCIPLE." (R. G. CONFIDENTIAL

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GRIGORYAN, KLASOVY KHARAKTER VNESHNEY POLITIKI KPSS, MOSCOW, SIGNED TO PRESS JULY 21, 1975).

20. THE KREMLIN'S MORE VIGILANT VIEW OF WESTERN INFLU-

ENCES IS CERTAINLY NOT INCONSISTENT WITH ITS CONTINUED
PURSUIT OF DETENTE POLICY, YET, IT SETS A DIFFERENT TONE
THAN THE NOTION OF DETENTE ALONG BROADLY CONCEIVED LINES
WHICH BREZHNEV AND HIS COLLEAGUES WERE ADVOCATING IN 1973
AND 1974. INGERSOLL

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